

A black and white photograph capturing a chaotic battle scene in an urban environment. In the foreground, a soldier with dark, curly hair and a beard is crouching, aiming a submachine gun towards the right. To his right, another soldier in a cap and uniform is running forward, also holding a submachine gun. On the left, two more soldiers are positioned behind a low wall or rubble, one aiming a rifle. The background shows a building with a balcony and a large wooden door. The air is filled with dust and smoke, suggesting recent gunfire. The overall tone is gritty and documentary.

AFTER

THE

BATTLE

OF

BEIRUT

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Cover: Palestinian resistance fighters in Beirut streets, Lebanon,
January 1976, by Catherine Leroy

PALESTINE

فلسطين

FROM ONE

GENERATION

TO THE NEXT

UNTIL

LIBERATION

AFTER THE BATTLE OF BEIRUT

The Palestinian Revolution has just won a historic political-military victory over the zionist settler-colonial regime in the recent Lebanon fighting. **The main points in this victory are clear:** the Battle of Beirut pierced the cult of zionist military invincibility, **marked the change in the relative balance of power between the Palestinian Revolution and 'israel,'** and strengthened the leading role of the PLO both within the Palestinian Nation and internationally, while exposing the maneuvers of all reactionary powers. u.s. imperialism is pretending that the PLO was defeated, but the truth of our Palestinian comrades' great victory can be read in the popular celebrations of joy that have greeted the PLO fighters all over the Arab world. The masses have seen things very clearly.

It was with justifiable pride that WAFA, the Palestinian news agency, said: "We taught the Arabs how to fight. We proved that the 'israelis' were not invincible. We held them off longer than any Arab army in history." The 'israeli' war machine, lavishly equipped by u.s. imperialism with hordes of tanks, jets, artillery and ships, struck in vain at the PLO defenses in West Beirut. **The terrible price in human suffering inflicted by the zionist criminals through their constant bombardment of the civilian population should not conceal the 'israeli' failure.**

Naturally, the shaken 'israeli' generals are trying to cover up the evidence of their military failure by claims of "victory." **The zionists are still trying to appear all-powerful;** they are pretending that they could have captured West Beirut at any time they wished, and supposedly only stayed their final blow at Washington's request.

This supposed zionist restraint didn't prevent them from daily attacks of the most savage kind on West Beirut by jets, artillery and even naval bombardment. Nor did this supposed restraint halt the zionists from what they now admit were feverish efforts to assassinate PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat during the seige. There was no holding back or restraint of any kind. Rather, the zionist fascists Begin and Sharon were trying for a **"final solution"** to end the PLO. They failed completely.

The much-vaunted zionist military machine did not enter West Beirut because it could not, because it was forcibly stopped in its tracks by the Palestinian fighters. **On Aug. 4, 1982 the imperialist forces tried their long-awaited, decisive assault on West Beirut.** That day three heavy armored columns tried simultaneous frontal assaults to break through the PLO lines. 'israeli' officers were boasting to their Lebanese fascist allies that: **"It will all be over in a few days."**

All three 'israeli' tank assaults were **thrown back** by the PLO forces. zionist losses were significant. At the central Museum Crossing checkpoint the PLO let the zionist armored column advance a few hundred yards into their territory before springing the trap, suddenly destroying 'israeli' armor in a storm of anti-tank rockets. The zionists officially admit to eighty-three casualties that day. They quickly lost **twenty tanks and fourteen armored personnel carriers** blown up without gaining anything. PLO Chairman Arafat's assertion that the Revolution could turn West Beirut into a **"Stalingrad of the Arabs"** was **proven to be no exaggeration.**

While in theory it might have been possible for the zionist military—who outnumbered the combined Arab defenders of West Beirut by some two-to-one—to capture West Beirut through costly frontal assaults, suicide attacks, and weeks of

old, revisionist "Jordanian Communist Party." The new split-off has taken the name of Palestinian Communist Party.* This is a positive development, although the new PCP has as yet no history of armed struggle, and does not operate in or speak for the struggle in either Lebanon or Palestine itself.

Palestinian communists are working in various liberation organizations and parties, **while raising the need to build one party to lead the Palestinian Nation to liberation and socialism.** Faced with betrayals from the Arab states and challenged by new neo-colonial schemes, the Palestinian Revolution advances. Most of the history of Palestine is still being won and created. Our Palestinian comrades have shown us that even while still struggling to unite, even while the communist party has yet to be built, great revolutionary strides can still be done by a heroic people. The growing neo-colonial schemes and betrayals point out how communist leadership is necessary to reach victory.

* An earlier party used that same name, although it was a zionist party. Founded in 1922, this settler party used the PCP name until after the 1948–49 war. At that time they dropped the word "Palestinian" and renamed themselves the "Israeli Communist Party." Rakah, the present revisionist zionist party in 'israel,' is the direct descendant of that party.

lead to de-zionization of all Palestine. **It must be remembered that the PLO is not a communist party**; nor is it the romantic guerrilla army that some think it is.

The PLO is a national united front of liberation, **involving many political organizations and personalities**, under the sponsorship of the Arab League. It works to unify and speak for the whole Nation. At this time there are unresolved class contradictions within the PLO since it involves and gives political expression to moderate as well as revolutionary elements, national bourgeois as well as proletarian class views, bourgeois-democratic as well as socialist politics. There are Palestinian petit-bourgeois who would gladly settle for any mini-state so long as they had the chance to be ministers and officials.

There are West Bank landlords and merchants who urge the PLO to accept a neo-colonial compromise because their own **immediate class interests** would be advanced, even if the zionists continued to hold most of Palestine. Their businesses and property would be within the proposed mini-state; in contrast, the Palestinian masses would still be homeless and landless in exile. All this is an unavoidable part of the long political struggle to bring together the whole Nation.

It also must be remembered that the Palestinian Revolution is still rapidly developing. **The PLO itself is relatively young**, having only been formed in 1964 (by comparison, the PLO is four years younger than SWAPO). Not until this year's Lebanon confrontation did the PLO Military Command manage to actually combine the various armed units under one coordinated command. **There is not yet a unitary Palestinian communist organization.** The PFLP is perhaps the major Marxist-Leninist organization at this time. There are many other communist groupings. This year, for example, new forces broke out of the

bloody house-to-house and street-by-street combat, that was politically very difficult at that time. The thousands of zionist casualties which would have resulted were unacceptable to the zionist settler public. The *N.Y. Times* reported from Jerusalem earlier:

“The country may not be prepared to accept such casualties. Large demonstrations against the war have already taken place. The opposition Labor Party has argued against an attack on West Beirut. A poll of 1,164 adults published today in the newspaper *Yediot Ahronot* found only 29% favoring ‘breaking into Beirut,’ as the survey’s question put it, and 68% in opposition.”

So the careful planning and organization by the PLO structure, the growing military ability of the Palestinian forces, the revolutionary “contempt for death” of the besieged fighters, all came together in forcing the zionist war machine to back down. The Begin-Sharon plan to physically exterminate the bulk of the PLO was defeated.

The zionists Can Get No Stronger

This victory was a signal of the **changing balance of power** between the zionist settler-colonial regime and the oppressed Palestinian Nation. While ‘israel’ is still distinctly more powerful, the relative balance is shifting. **The zionist war machine cannot get more powerful than it is today. On the other hand, the strength of the Palestinian Revolution is growing rapidly.** Even the imperialists admit this fact. It was partly in desperation at their inability to halt this growing Revolution that the zionists decided to strike out at the PLO’s main base area in Lebanon. So this confrontation itself had its immediate roots in the changing

balance of power.

The PLO's growing relative strength was confirmed by the many dissident 'israeli' Army reservists who returned from the fighting to protest the invasion. These zionist dissenters are not radicals, not "doves," not pro-Palestinian. They are zionist settlers who have become aware that they are starting to lose the war. The Associated Press dispatch of June 30, 1982 said: **"The essence of the soldiers' complaint is that they do not believe the Palestinian guerrilla problem can be solved militarily."**

The Associated Press quotes one 'israeli' Sgt. Yeshoshua Yashuv as saying that **"he had seen how small squads of guerrillas could stop elite paratrooper companies. 'When we heard the Chief of Staff saying on the radio that there was a military solution to the terrorist problem, everybody in my company burst out laughing.'"** Even the arrogant zionist soldiers are starting to fear that they cannot defeat the Palestinian Revolution.

Both the u.s. media and the euro-american liberals have emphasized almost solely the plight of Palestinian refugees as victims. They are indeed that, but they are also making their own history of liberation. During the confrontation the PLO's military forces grew at a considerable rate, almost doubling in size. **The active forces of the Revolution are much stronger today than before the u.s.-'israeli' extermination campaign.** Beirut was a rallying call for the patriotic youth of dispersed Palestine, and indeed for revolutionary forces throughout the Middle East.

As an example, we can see this process at work even in Jordan, under the repressive rule of the openly pro-u.s. Hashemite Kingdom. Two battalions of regular P.L.A. troops, comprising some 700 soldiers, left Jordan for Lebanon.* Two thousand new

* The Palestine Liberation Army (P.L.A.) is made up of regular military

of the Palestinian struggle. Now that the spreading zionist operations threaten to swamp their own little kingdoms, these Arab allies of imperialism are desperate to end the war on a **non-revolutionary basis**. Arab reaction is therefore increasingly pushing for co-existence between the zionist settler-colonial regime and a supposedly independent Palestinian neo-colony on the West Bank. This mini-state would be a disarmed buffer zone protecting 'israel,' watched over by the imperialist forces of both Jordan and 'israel' itself.

The PFLP points out: "The political report of our 4th National Congress stressed that the Camp David agreements are the political expression of the overlapping interests of imperialism, zionism and Arab reaction. It was our analysis that Arab reaction, which opposed Camp David verbally and superficially only, would make its way to Camp David, but probably calling it something else, in order to merge politically, economically and militarily with the zionist-imperialist alliance..."

The two-line struggle is in this way more and more out in the open. As the zionist regime throws its war machine step by step deeper into the Arab world, annexing Palestinian lands as fast as they can be settled, the **Arab regimes resist less and less**. The contrast between neo-colonial co-existence with the zionist settler-colony and the emergence of protracted revolutionary war to victory inside the zionist occupation is very distinct.

Within the PLO there are heavy pressures to go along with any settlement with 'israel' that imperialism may work out—just so long as it concedes at least a small part of Palestine for the PLO to set up a government. Since 1973 Al Fatah, the strongest liberation organization and the dominant voice within the PLO, has been willing to make peace on the basis of a division of Palestine with the zionists. Fatah hopes that this would eventually

The PFLP, DFLP and other Palestinian forces—as well as Lebanese patriots—had prepared to conduct such a guerrilla struggle behind the zionist lines in Lebanon. In only the first three weeks after the Beirut cease-fire the zionist military command admits that these guerrilla ambushes cost it twelve soldiers dead, nine captured and twenty wounded (twenty Lebanese fascist troops were killed as well), while at most the zionist army claims only nine guerrillas killed. The zionist war machine can overrun whole countries, but **cannot stop its daily losses to “the war of the flea.”** Infuriated, the ‘israeli’ Cabinet has issued empty threats that **“Israel would not tolerate a war of attrition...”** But they will have to tolerate it, since they are powerless to end it. How dangerous these increasing pinpricks are to the zionist regime.

We can also see the steady development of militant **national feeling**, of political consciousness and will to do battle among the Palestinian masses within all of the occupied territory. Crowds of young schoolchildren armed only with rocks and sticks attack heavily-armed zionist troops. Every week there are new Palestinian heroes and martyrs to be examples for their friends and relatives. The Revolution has gradually worked its way into each family. How then can the Revolution be militarily stranded and impotent, when it has the entire new generation of the Palestinian Nation to draw upon? And right within the walls of the zionist fortress itself. We can see how empty the defeatist fear-mongering of the Arab reactionaries is.

The escalation of the liberation war has charged the political contradictions within the Arab world. **The two-line struggle is becoming sharper and more clear to the masses.** Once the reactionary Arab regimes (Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, Oman, Tunisia, etc.), who are completely capitalistic and pro-u.s., gave propagandistic verbal gestures and a few oil dollars in support

Palestinian recruits left with them to join the PLO forces. Of these fighters some 59 were killed, wounded or captured, 265 returned to a heroes’ welcome in the Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan, and roughly 2,300 are still confronting the zionist invaders from new positions in the Bekaa Valley or by the Syrian border. Most of these fighters have no intention of disarming or disengaging at this time.

Similarly, the Palestinian youth of the refugee camps and West Beirut joined the struggle by the thousands. Many in an armed capacity. Prime Minister Begin whined in dismay that among their prisoners in Lebanon **“we have sixty-six children from the ages of twelve and thirteen who held machine guns in their hands.”** The Palestinian “RPG Boys” became famous (the RPG is the “rocket-propelled grenade,” the standard, Soviet-design, shoulder-held anti-tank weapon). Trained to use anti-tank rockets, these young teenagers hid in the rubble of destroyed buildings, sending off streams of rockets at the invaders. The zionists believed that well over one thousand “RPG Boys” fought them, and whether the number was greater or lesser it’s obvious that they were an unpleasant surprise to the zionist army. And a sign of what the future holds.

The Mercenary Nation

On their side, the zionist settler-colonial regime has already reached the zenith of their strength. They are armed and indeed over-armed. More jets, tanks, cluster bombs, radar, etc. etc. will not help them capture one additional guerrilla. Their invasion

brigades, each one attached to the army of a specific Arab state. While the brigades are PLO units, they are designed to fight in integration with existing Arab armies in conventional warfare with ‘israel.’

and attempted annexation of Lebanon has strained them to the limit. While Begin claims that his new episode of empire-building will not harm the settler economy, the army has admitted that the cost **alone** of outfitting the zionist occupation in Lebanon for the coming winter (shelters, winter clothing, gear, roads, etc.) will eat up **5% of the entire 1982 'israeli' Gross National Product.**

Due to manpower being tied up in the invasion, 'israeli' industrial exports fell by 20% last summer. Their zionist currency, the shekel, lost 50% of its value during the invasion, and the "normal" 'israeli' inflation of 130% per year is expected to rise to some 250% per year. Their slowly eroding military situation and the permanent economic crisis are the material basis of the growing political polarization and instability. Just as in the former settler colony of "Rhodesia," as the revolution gradually intensifies more and more european settlers run away to enjoy their privileged lives in greater safety elsewhere. Some 'israeli' sources have estimated that as much as 10% of the total zionist citizenry has already fled abroad, mostly to the u.s.

This instability within 'israeli' society comes from the specific nature of their oppressor nation. This is a temporary nation, an artificial nation. 'israel' is an imperialist clone forcibly implanted within the Arab world. Like all european settler societies 'israel' was built on the foundation of armed conquest, stolen land and super-exploited Third-World labor. **'israel's' unique peculiarity, however, is that it is literally a mercenary nation;** the zionist settlers are artificially maintained by u.s. imperialism as a paid, anti-communist police over the Arab masses. The first business of 'israel' is not trade or agriculture or industry, but going to war (which is why they are so good at it).

Because of the costs of the zionist society's abnormally developed militarization and extensive social subsidies for their settler way

the Revolution is now less able to attack the zionist enemy. The overwhelming bulk of the withdrawn units were regular and semi-regular **defense** forces, whose specific role has been to shield the Palestinian liberation structures and the refugee camps themselves within Lebanon. These **defensive** forces successfully fought off both the Lebanese fascists and the main zionist armies for some years. It is also true that, with the significant exception of the use of heavy artillery to strike at the forward zionist settlements, most of these units had little **offensive** role. (Of course, their role in guarding temporarily liberated areas in exile was a giant step forward for the Revolution. Here we use "offensive" to mean actually striking into zionist-occupied territory.)

In any case military units that have been dispersed can be re-concentrated. Many, if not most, of those PLO units will undoubtedly have the chance for new struggles much sooner than imperialism thinks.

Here we see the **differences** in political line manifested in a very **material** way. Those Palestinian comrades who hold to the total destruction of the zionist settler-colonial regime, and the socialist liberation of all Palestine, quite naturally **place their priority on the strengthening of the revolutionary underground within the lands of Palestine itself.** Militarily they see the birth of guerrilla warfare right within the zionist occupation as the cutting edge of the struggle.

For example, Abu Ahmed Fuad of the PFLP Politbureau has said of his organization's strategy: "The first is to rely on guerrilla warfare taking place behind the ranks of the enemy in the occupied territories. We in the PFLP exert great efforts to build our forces within the occupied territories, and **we believe these forces should have the lion's share of our efforts.**"

until the **final** stage of the war can base areas be held in a fixed manner against major imperialist annihilation campaigns. The Chinese Red Army, we recall, retreated out of base areas under attack many times. The PLO itself had to shift its main rear base out of Jordan after “Black September” in 1970. As we have said earlier, for the PLO to have fought off the zionist mechanized army to a standstill, and then managed to withdraw its forces intact, was a signal victory. For that matter, just to have advanced to the point of having such a battle was a victory. As PFLP leader George Habash put it: “Thank God! At long last I have lived to see a Palestinian army fight the ‘israeli’ army!”

However, Arab reactionaries are saying that this withdrawal means that the **“military option”** is now impractical, and that therefore the PLO’s main energy must be centered on the **“diplomatic option.”** This is but another way of saying that the PLO should accept a force-fed imperialist deal with the zionist regime, a deal of co-existence under which the zionist settler-colonial regime would forever occupy the bulk of Palestine. This is the bottom line of the neo-colonial Fahd Plan and its twin, the u.s. Reagan Plan.

This contradiction is not external to the liberation struggle, but is also **expressed within it**. Not just the reactionary regimes but also some elements within the PLO are willing to reach a compromise with ‘israel’ via the so-called diplomatic struggle. Since no one has ever thought that diplomacy could overthrow the zionist rule, all those who emphasize the “diplomatic option” are preparing to follow the late Anwar Sadat into Camp David.

Why should the withdrawal and relocation of forces from Beirut so negatively affect the PLO military situation? When we examine the withdrawal we can see how new conditions of struggle have been made; in no way, however, can it be said that

of life, the **‘israeli’ government’s annual budget equals the entire ‘israeli’ Gross National Product.** This is only possible because of the “aid” (which is better understood as **pay**) given to the zionist settlers by their u.s. imperialist masters. The u.s. Government annually gives the zionist regime \$785 million in economic funds and \$1.8 billion in military funds; an additional \$1.1 billion annually flows in from zionist organizations abroad, primarily from the u.s. Without this outside income the zionist settler-colonial regime would be bankrupt, without its little empire and its citizens as poor as the rest of the Middle East.

This complete zionist dependence on u.s. imperialism is admitted in a March 1982 report of the u.s. Agency for International Development, which notes that u.s. money: “...enables Israel to pay for weaponry, fuel and other civilian imports...without heavy reliance on high cost commercial borrowing, depletion of its foreign exchange reserves, **or economic depression.**”

zionist settler society is not, therefore, even capable of sustaining itself just with the **“normal”** device of super-exploiting colonial Arab labor. The zionist settlers’ mainline addiction to working for the u.s. can be grasped by the fact that these various u.s. payments amount to an average subsidy per settler man, woman and child of almost \$1,000 per year. **That is, the average zionist family of four receives an indirect u.s. subsidy of approximately \$4,000.00 per year.** While much of this goes to power the zionist war machine, part of this pay subsidizes zionist civilian consumption and social services. This is the key to the “‘israeli’ miracle”; the little nation of refugees that in one generation went to driving Phantom jets and Mercedes-Benzes. **Each zionist settler is on u.s. imperialism’s payroll—an artificial nation of attack dogs.**

In the past while u.s. imperialism has kept up at least a show

of distance from zionist crimes, these supposed differences have usually been only cosmetic. So that in theory Washington was unhappy with the Lebanese invasion. In reality the invasion was preceded by the separate Washington visits of Begin, Sharon and the zionist head of military intelligence; visits to have their plans approved by the u.s. masters. And by “coincidence,” on the day of the invasion not only President Reagan, but also the vice-president, the secretary of state, the secretary of defense, the White House foreign policy advisers, and all the other top imperialist officials were out of town on “working vacation” or “tours,” and thus unavailable for press questioning.

In February 1982, some five months before the invasion started, the Central Committee of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) predicted (with an accuracy that shows their grasp of the situation):

“...the coming ‘israeli’ attack on Lebanon will be of a different kind; the enemy may attempt a major military attack against the revolution, the LPM (Lebanese Patriotic Movement—ed.) and the Syrian forces, occupying South Lebanon. This coincides with the overall imperialist plan, **for the occupation of South Lebanon would give the u.s. the opportunity to extract concessions in exchange for ‘israeli’ withdrawal.** In this context, the u.s. policy of supporting the regime and speaking of its unity (i.e. the Lebanese government—ed.) is complimentary and not contradictory to the zionist designs in South Lebanon.”

So that underneath the cosmetic and tactical “disagreements” between imperialism and the zionist regime has been unity. In this context we should mention that the zionist war machine has only a limited life of its own; primarily **it exists as an extension of the u.s. Empire.** ‘israel’ has received over half of the total u.s. military funding distributed worldwide since 1951. That’s how

strategic to let ‘israel’ go to join “French Algeria” and “Rhodesia” in the graveyard of departed settler colonies. It will not be until their military situation is hopeless, however, since both u.s. imperialism and its zionist servants need to crush movements of the oppressed with campaigns of military annihilation. **The zionists are just apprentices at genocide compared to their u.s. masters.**

What has already taken place is that the zionist garrison state is **becoming its opposite**—it is attacking u.s. interests as well as defending them, reaching for its own empire rather than just serving the u.s. Empire, creating chaos rather than imposing order. And in this growing chaos the Arab Revolution has developed to a new level.

On Leaving Lebanon and Beyond

The PLO evacuation of its major rear base area in Lebanon and the spread of the confrontation into other Arab lands has led to a new period of struggle, to new and more complex conditions. This in itself is nothing unusual for the Palestinian Revolution. What is primary at this time is the **sharp political polarization in the Arab world.** This will cause a certain measure of turbulence, uncertainty and disunity in the short run—and in the long run is a necessary stage in the unfolding struggle for correct revolutionary strategy.

We can see this polarization in how the withdrawal from Beirut is being interpreted. The reality of protracted war, of revolutionary struggle, is that from single organizers up to whole military divisions the forces of the revolution must shift locations quite often, and usually on short notice. In few cases

within imperialism:

“Arab regimes were also stirred to act by **their...fear that their own populations, local as well as Palestinian refugees and immigrants, would turn against them...** As long as Israel was content to ‘colonize’ the West Bank, southern Lebanon and the Sinai, it seemed remote for many Arab leaders. But now Israel is seen as **‘an imperialist regional power’** that reaches far into Arab territory, said Sayed Yassin, an Egyptian writer. Reflecting a widely held view, he cited the Israeli attack on the nuclear reactor in Iraq, regular overflights of Saudi territory, the takeover of most of Lebanon, Defense Minister Ariel Sharon’s warning that Damascus is within reach of Israeli artillery and his call for the creation of a Palestinian state in Jordan.

“Soon, other Arab intellectuals say, Israel may try to dictate to governments as far away as Cairo or Baghdad and may threaten military action to prevent a nationalist Arab faction from taking power in some Arab country.

“Such thoughts, these intellectuals say, have persuaded Arabs to give first priority to the issue of Israel, even in the Gulf states and Saudi Arabia, which formerly saw the Soviet Union as the primary threat to their region.”

u.s. imperialism’s zionist weapon is now threatening to destabilize or even invade the very Arab regimes so closely allied to Western imperialism. The PLO could well say that “The chickens are coming home to roost.” Unrestrained zionist empire-building is throwing gasoline on the fires of the Arab Revolution, arousing the Arab masses in country after country. The contradictions are obvious.

At some point in the future Washington may find it more

important the zionist military has been to u.s. imperialism’s plans.

The ‘israeli’ military is **integrated into and dependent upon the u.s. industrial-military complex.** Fifteen thousand u.s. companies send the zionists a constant stream of radar parts, missiles, jet fuel, medicines, cannon shells, tanks, jeep parts, special metal alloys, and all the other essential needs of a technological military. Without the **daily** u.s. shipments the technologically muscle-bound zionist war machine would literally soon stop functioning. We can see that their own fascistic super-development poses major contradictions for them.

It follows that such a large military investment for u.s. imperialism carries with it large demands. **u.s. imperialism adopted ‘israel’ as a frontier garrison to smash at Arab anti-colonialism,** at Nasserism in Egypt and at Arab socialism in general. So long as the zionist settlers did the job their u.s. masters were willing to pay them billions of dollars and back them in committing any and all crimes against the Arab masses. But u.s. imperialism’s servants must produce the desired results, must meet their masters’ goals—or else be discarded like yesterday’s newspaper.

Contradictions of zionism and Imperialism

The fundamental structure of u.s.-‘israeli’ relations is coming under increasing stress. **Antagonistic contradictions** between the needs of u.s. imperialism and those of the zionist settler-colonial regime become more and more visible. This is of the utmost importance.

Amilcar Cabral said twenty years ago: “...imperialism is quite

prepared to change both its men and its tactics in order to perpetuate itself; it will make and destroy states and, as we have already seen, it will kill its own puppets when they no longer serve its purposes. If need be, it will even create a kind of socialism, which people may soon start calling ‘neo-socialism.’”

In Zimbabwe the imperialists used the Smith regime and the “Rhodesian” settlers, but summarily dismissed them in favor of Afrikan “neo-socialism” when the settler regime proved unable to defeat the Afrikan guerrillas. This is the zionists’ greatest fear: that their imperialist masters will discard them as ineffective in favor of Arab neo-colonialism.

While Washington is still using the zionist weapon to the utmost, the imperialists do see that **it isn’t working** as they hoped. The PLO grows stronger year by year, and in its struggles is helping push forward the general revolutionizing of the Arab world. The French, Swedish, Italian and other european imperialists have already begun backing away from the zionist regime, if as yet only in a tactical sense. In Sweden the imperialists have conceded de facto diplomatic recognition to the PLO, even providing the PLO mission with an embassy building, cars and other services. As the recent meetings between Arafat and the Italian President and Arafat and the Pope show, european capital is starting to woo the PLO, doubtlessly hoping to find neo-colonial weak links somewhere. More slowly and reluctantly even u.s. imperialism is feeling forced to look down that same road.

We can see the mounting contradictions by looking at zionist annexationism. The **invasion** of Lebanon may have been caused by the immediate political-military situation, but the **annexation** of Lebanon had long been pursued as a zionist goal. In 1955 zionist official Moshe Sharett recorded in his “secret diary” that General Moshe Dayan had just proposed a plan for annexing

The zionists have indeed raised the stakes very, very high. In deciding to mercilessly dispossess and commit genocide against the dispersed Palestinian Nation as a whole—on West Bank schoolchildren and merchants as well as unemployed laborers in camps outside the zionist borders—the zionists have forced more and more Palestinians to pick up the gun. **The zionists have helped unify the Palestinian Nation behind the revolutionary leadership of the PLO.** Around the world the zionist regime has completely discredited themselves and created millions of new friends for the cause of Palestine.

Even inside ‘israel’ there are some settlers who shrink back from this final, irrevocable descent into barbarism. One zionist peace group has written: **“Those who shall sober up from the collective intoxication will have to admit that the Palestinians are the Jews of our era, the small, hunted people standing alone against the best weapons...”**

The Begin-Sharon fascists are now gambling not only with ‘israel,’ but with all that Western imperialism controls in the Middle East. They are pushing to **further destabilize the region, possibly even overthrowing imperialism’s closest Arab allies** in their crusade to dominate the Arab world. Like Hitler, the Likud prefer to drag everything down to ruin with them rather than give up their ambitions of empire. This attitude is not shared in Washington, London or Paris. u.s. imperialism is still backing their zionist client-state in trying for a “final” military solution; but since ‘israel’ continues to fail, Washington will place more and more emphasis on a neo-colonial political solution to their “Palestinian problem.”

The new ‘israeli’ empire-building has sent a shock-wave through the reactionary Arab regimes. A perceptive article on the Fez summit in the Sept. 12, 1982 *N.Y. Times* reveals the contradictions

communities. This is genocide in no uncertain terms. Begin himself has set the tone by publicly defining the Palestinians as only **“a two-legged animal,”** subhumans who can be wiped out by the new “master race” of zionists.

Lebanon has been a first test of this new “final solution” policy. One ‘israeli’ military spokesman said: **“The idea of humiliation, of being there and seeing the PLO escape, and with a political victory, is unbearable to us.”** General Sharon ordered the exits from West Beirut blocked to all Palestinian civilians and day after day the zionists massacred Palestinians and working-class Lebanese by the thousands with indiscriminate phosphorus and shrapnel bombing.

On July 11, 1982 Sharon’s headquarters told the press that if West Beirut fell into their hands they would bring in their fellow fascists, the Lebanese Phalangist militia, who would be **“turned loose to ‘mop up’** the predominately Muslim West Beirut after a departure of the guerrillas.” Notice that the target of the fascist “mop up” would not be the guerrillas, but the Palestinian community as a whole. Is there another government in the world which is so out of tune with world opinion that it can proudly announce in advance that it intends to stage a massacre of unarmed civilians?

Gen. Sharon has said that his final goal there is to so reduce the Palestinian people in Lebanon that the broken and disorganized survivors can be **split up and scattered** amongst the Lebanese population. Under threat of death, the isolated Palestinian families would then be forced to **renounce their nationality**, disband all social and political organizations, and “become Lebanese.” Thus, according to Sharon, within one generation there will be **not one Palestinian left in all of Lebanon** (as the Nazis used to say, “judenfrei”). This genocidal blueprint will not succeed.

Lebanon:

“The only thing that’s necessary is to find a Lebanese officer, even a major will do. We will win, his heart or buy him with money or get him to declare himself the savior of the Maronite population...(then) the Israeli army will enter Lebanon, occupy the necessary territory and create a Christian regime that will ally itself with Israel. The territory of the Litani southward will be totally annexed to Israel.”

So the present occupation is just the end product of a carefully followed plan by the zionist regime since 1955. Today Dayan’s plan is a reality. How “temporary” the zionists intend their occupation to be can be seen from the fact that they are building a new highway system linking southern Lebanon to ‘israel.’ In their occupied zone the Lebanese government’s provincial Governor has admitted to the press that he must salute zionist officers, even in his own office. The Lebanese army (itself a rightist force) has been disarmed in that area, while the puppet militia of Major Saad Haddad works as the Arab police of the zionists.

However, today’s Begin-Sharon expansionism takes place in a different context than the earlier annexations of the zionist Labor Party. **The rise to power of Begin’s Likud coalition represents the political hegemony over the zionist masses of the most extreme and reactionary tendency in zionist politics.** Prime Minister Begin is the traditional leader of what was once considered a “fringe” group—the so-called **Jabotinsky Party**.

Their founder, Vladimir Jabotinsky, was the first theorist of jewish fascism. He envisioned in 1920s Poland the armed migration of jewish youth to Palestine to found a fascist state of their own. The Jabotinsky Party imitated the philosophy, uniforms and thug

tactics of Mussolini's fascist Italy. They were so discredited among the Jewish people in Poland that during the heroic World War II Warsaw Ghetto uprising, when the doomed Jewish community took up arms against their Nazi oppressors, the Jabotinsky Party was the only Jewish organization that was refused permission to join the uprising.

At the time of Begin's first fundraising trip to the U.S. in 1948, a number of prominent Zionist intellectuals issued a public protest. Albert Einstein, Hannah Arendt, Rabbi Cardozo and many others were among the signers. The protest statement said in part: "The public avowals of Begin's party are no guide whatever to its actual character. Today they speak of freedom, democracy and anti-imperialism, whereas **until recently they openly preached the doctrine of the Fascist state...**

"Within the Jewish community they have preached an admixture of ultra-nationalism, religious mysticism and racial superiority. Like other Fascist parties they have been used to break strikes, and have themselves pressed for the destruction of the trade unions. In their stead they have proposed corporate unions on the Italian Fascist model.

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"...It is all the more tragic that the top leadership of American Zionism has refused to campaign against Begin's efforts, or even to expose to its own constituents the dangers to Israel from support to Begin."

Even as early as 1948 the leaders of Euro-American Jewry were willing to accept fascism—so long as it was Jewish fascism.

We have gone back over this brief history to show how discredited and desperate a leadership the Zionist settler-colonial masses are willing to take up. Now the fascist leader Begin sits in the

Prime Minister's office, while outside in the streets a fanatical demonstration of hundreds of thousands of Zionists chants the Likud slogan—"Begin, King of Israel."

Begin and his cohorts present one consistent answer to the crisis facing 'Israel': **They have launched an expansionistic campaign to genocidally exterminate the Palestinian people, while militarily and economically moving to take over the Arab world.** They envision founding a greater Zionist empire, run by their new "master race." With such wealth and power the Zionist ruling class will at last be free of their dangerous subservience to U.S. imperialism; the loyalty of the Zionist masses will be ensured by a new and higher standard of living. At least this would all happen if the Zionists' bloody fantasies ever came to be.

The rise to power of this soiled and bloody fascist grouping indicates the **depth of the crisis within 'Israel.'** The social-democratic Labor Party was unable to put down the Palestinian Revolution and unable to end the economic crisis. The Zionist settler society turned to the fascistic Likud to **solve** these problems. As warlike and aggressive as the Labor Party rule had been, it wasn't aggressive enough. Now we see the Sharon-type fascists, who are not only eager to do the dirty work, but who can be used by imperialism and later blamed and discarded.

These 'Israeli' fascists are ideologically unable to admit that even now, only mid-way in the liberation struggle, they can no longer defeat the PLO by military means alone. For every new PLO step forward the Zionist regime's only response is to raise the stakes, to strike out with **larger and larger military adventures.** Unable to end PLO activity on the West Bank, in Gaza, within the Zionist borders, the Begin-Sharon fascists see the only solution in **physical and social destruction of the far-flung Palestinian**